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Impersonal *Remembren* in Chaucer\* \*\*

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中期英語における非人称構文を扱った van der Gaaf (1904: 145) は、当時再帰構文で用いられた *remembren* を Chaucer が非人称構文で頻繁に用いたことを指摘し、*remembren* の非人称用法は Chaucer に固有のものではないか推察している。実際には、*The Oxford English Dictionary* に Caxton の翻訳書『イソップ物語』からの用例があがっており、この用法を用いたのは Chaucer だけではなかったことは現在では既知の事実であるが、Chaucer は他に例を見ないほど多く *remembren* を非人称構文で用いている。本研究においても *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* を用いて *remembren* を検索したが、Chaucer 以外の新たな用例を見つけることはできなかった。*remembren* 非人称用法は Chaucer の特徴的な用法の一つであると考えられる。

また、van der Gaaf は Chaucer は非人称構文で *remembren* を用いる回数の方が多いと述べているが、*The Riverside Chaucer* の電子可読テキスト版を用いて調査したところ、実は Chaucer も当時標準的であった再帰構文での使用頻度が高いことがわかった。

Chaucer が当時非標準的であった非人称用法で *remembren* を用いることができると考えていたという事実は voice 研究の観点からみても非常に興味深い。そこで、本研究では中間構文、再帰構文と他動性との関係の類型論的説明を試みた Kemmer (1994) を基に、「非人称動詞から人称動詞へ」の流れの中における 14 世紀という通時

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\*チャースーの *remembren* 非人称用法 (吉川史子)

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的観点を交えて、Chaucer が再帰用法ばかりでなく非人称用法で *remembren* を用いることができると考えた理由に考察を加える。

## 1 Introduction

Middle English has not only the impersonal construction with *it*, by which we refer to weather or time in Modern English (e.g. *it is ten o'clock; it is rainy*), but also the subjectless impersonal construction with a dative personal pronoun. We can still find a trace of this usage in the present-day American English, *methinks* (*methought*). Compared with Middle English, Old English has a larger number of impersonal verbs: judgement or psychological states are rendered in impersonal constructions. Though many impersonal verbs lost the usage in the course of the early Middle English period<sup>1)</sup>, Middle English still retains quite a few impersonal verbs. In addition to those, Middle English developed impersonal usage for those verbs which, in the Old English period, were not used this way<sup>2)</sup>.

Among the impersonal verbs, this paper pays special attention to *remembren*, on which van der Gaaf (1904: 145, § 173) already shed light about 100 years ago:

[The impersonal] use of *remembren* is one of the peculiarities of Chaucer's language; it does not appear to occur anywhere else.

What attracts our interest is the very fact that Chaucer used this verb in impersonal constructions in contrast with the standard personal usage of those days. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and Mustanoja (1960) regard this impersonal use as a syntactic loan from its Old French counterpart. The following are typical examples of each construction:

Reflexive:

- (1) Kan they nat remembren hem eek that, as seith Seint Luc, 23, how that the theef that was hanged bisyde Jhesu Crist seyde, "Lord, re-

<sup>1)</sup> See van der Gaaf (1904: 3).

<sup>2)</sup> See van der Gaaf (1904: 12-25).

membre of me, whan thow comest into thy regne”?

— ‘The Parson’s Tale’, l. 702.

- (2) And if he abide to his laste day, scarsly may he shryven hym or remembre hym of his synnes or repenten hym, for the grevous maladie of his deeth. — ‘The Parson’s Tale’, l. 1001.

- (3) And so bifel how that this goode man  
Remembred hym upon this Damyan,  
— ‘The Marchant’s Tale’, ll. 1897, 98.

- (4) For certeynly, in every membre  
I quake, whanne I me remembre  
Of the botoun, which I wolde  
Full ofte a day sen and biholde.  
— *The Romaunt of the Rose*, ll. 4109-12.

- (5) Remembre yow, myn owene lord so deere,  
I was youre wyf, though I unworthy weere.  
— ‘The Clerk’s Tale’, ll. 881, 82.

Impersonal:

- (6) For as Seint Jerome seith, “At every tyme that me remembreth of the day of doom I quake; — ‘The Parson’s Tale’, l. 159.

- (7) Mars dwelleth forth in his adversyte,  
Compleynyng ever on her departyng,  
And what his compleynt was, remembreth me;  
— ‘The Complaint of Mars’, ll. 148-50.

- (8) But — Lord Crist! — whan that it remembreth me  
Upon my yowthe, and on my jolitee,  
It tikleth me aboute myn herte roote.  
— ‘The Wife of Bath’s Tale’, ll. 469-71.

- (9) ‘but now it remembreth me wel, here was I born, her wol I fastne my degree, here wol I duelle.’  
— *Boece*, Book IV, Metrum 1, ll. 37-39.

- (10) Thanne who so that sekith sothnesse, he nis in neyther nother habite, for he not nat al, ne he ne hath nat al foryeten; but yit hym remembreth the somme of thinges that he withholdeth, and axeth conseile, and retretith deepliche thinges iseyn byforne (*that is to seyn, the grete somme in his mynde*) so that he mowe adden the parties that be hath foryeten to thilke that he hath withholden."

— *Boece*, Book V, Metrum 3, ll. 47-56.

According to Ogura (1991: 76), reflexive use is possible for any verb in Old English and Middle English, while impersonal use is limited to some types of verbs which demand a dative personal pronoun. She collated the verbs which have both usages and sorted examples according to the type of the subject (person or thing), the cases the verbs demand, and the possibility of the form, the 'verb *be* + past participle'. She found quite a few verbs which have both reflexive and impersonal use<sup>3)</sup>. What seems to be lacking, however, is a consideration of the verbs in detail: the statistical data of their frequencies in each impersonal/personal use or the duration of dual use will be helpful. Let us confine our attention to *remembren* and discuss the verb from the viewpoint of 'event' structure because the impersonal use and reflexive use are both closely connected with the voice system, which many linguists are trying to explicate in comparison with a number of languages. This paper counts the frequencies of impersonal *remembren* and reflexive *remembren* in Chaucer, examines the examples and explores the reasons, especially from a cognitive point of view, why both uses of *remembren* seemed possible to Chaucer.

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<sup>3)</sup> See Ogura (1991: 76).

## 2 Confirmation of van der Gaaf (1904)

### 2.1 Peculiarity to Chaucer?

Van der Gaaf (1904) conjectures that the impersonal use of *remembren* is peculiar to Chaucer<sup>4)</sup>, while the *OED* cites an example from Caxton's *Fables of Æsop* as impersonal under the headword *remember*:

- (11) I am certayne & me remembreth wel that the dogge lend to her a  
loof of brede. — Caxton (1484) *Fables of Æsop* i, iv.

Example (11) is a sentence from a proverbial fable about a greedy dog. Our further search through *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (abbreviated to *Helsinki Corpus* hereafter) did not discover any other impersonal example<sup>5)</sup>. The *Helsinki Corpus* does not contain the text of the *Fables of Æsop*, and it is only from Chaucer's *The Parson's Tale* that the impersonal example is to be found in it.

Table 1 Reflexive and Impersonal *Remembren* in the *Helsinki Corpus* (hcm1-4)

Text	Subperiod	Reflexive	Impersonal
Geoffrey Chaucer, <i>The Parson's Tale</i>	hcm3 (1350-1420)	6	1
Unknown Author, Non-private Letter	hcm3 (1350-1420)	2	
Clement Paston, Private Letter	hcm4 (1420-1500)	2	

<sup>4)</sup> He stated that he searched texts written between 1300 and 1490. See van der Gaaf (1904: 146) § 176.

<sup>5)</sup> The *Helsinki Corpus* is a corpus edited for diachronic English study by Matti Rissanen et al. in 1991. The corpus divides the Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English periods into three or four sub-periods (for example, the Middle English period is divided into four periods of hcm1 (1150-1250), hcm2 (1250-1350), hcm3 (1350-1420), and hcm4 (1420-1500)), and categorizes about 400 texts into the sub-periods with added information such as genre or style of the text and sex of the author. See Saito (1993: 85-90). The retrieval program was written by Yoshio Iwai. © 1994 Yoshio Iwai, Osaka University. All rights reserved.

A search was also made for impersonal *remembren* in Caxton's *Æsop* edited by Lenaghan (1967)<sup>6)</sup>. The example cited in the *OED* is the only one occurring in it<sup>7)</sup>.

Now we cannot deem impersonal *remembren* peculiar to Chaucer, but it may have originated with Chaucer. Caxton was, of course, a publisher, and he published *The Canterbury Tales* before he translated *Æsop's Fables* into English. Hellinga (1982: 83) estimates that Caxton published Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* in 1476. Caxton stated in the preface to his *Fables of Æsop* that he translated it in 1483.

## 2.2 Frequency of the Impersonal Construction

Van der Gaaf (1904: 145) remarks on Chaucer's impersonal use of *remembren*, "Although, as we see both [impersonal and reflexive] constructions are used very frequently by Chaucer, still they are outnumbered by [impersonal construction]<sup>8)</sup>, of which I have collected 12 instances". However, Chaucer actually used more personal/reflexive constructions, following the standard use of those days. The judgement of whether a verb is impersonal or reflexive is sometimes difficult, as Ogura (1991) says in the third section, but even if all the doubtful cases are assigned to the impersonal side, the occurrences of impersonal *remembren* are fewer than those of personal/reflexive *remembren*. The occurrences of reflexive/impersonal *remembren* in *The Riverside Chaucer*<sup>9)</sup> are as shown in Table 2:

<sup>6)</sup> This edition by Lenaghan is the newest complete edition as far as I know. The *OED* used a different edition, which was published in the late 19th century and difficult to obtain.

<sup>7)</sup> I searched for the spelling '[Rr]ememb' in electronic-readable text which I made by use of OCR, with the UNIX command 'grep'.

<sup>8)</sup> Van der Gaaf (1904: 40, § 41) explains this A construction as "The verb governs a dative or an accusative, as *methinks*, *meseems*, *melists*, *it behoves me*, *woe is me*."

<sup>9)</sup> I used the electronic edition of *The Riverside Chaucer* (Third Edition) which is tagged with such numbers as chapter, page, and sentence in SGML. The retrieval program for this electronic-readable text is also written by Yoshio Iwai. © 1994 Yoshio Iwai, Osaka University. All rights reserved.

Table 2 The Frequency of Reflexive/Impersonal *Remembren* in *The Riverside Chaucer*

Text	Tale	Personal/ Reflexive	Impersonal
The Canterbury Tales	The Clerk's Tale	1	
	The Merchant's Tale	1	
	The Tale of Melibee	3	
	The Wife of Bath's Prologue		1
	The Franklin's Tale	1	
	The Parson's Tale	11	1
Boece		4 <sup>10)</sup>	8
Troilus and Criseyde		5	2
The Romaunt of the Rose		4	
The Legend of Good Women		1	1
The Complaint of Mars			1

There are many textual variations among manuscripts and editions of Chaucer's works. Thus the edition which van der Gaaf made use of is different in some respects from Benson's edition, *The Riverside Chaucer*<sup>11)</sup>. Compare these two extracts from *Boece*:

- (12) a. Thanne seide I thus: "I accorde me gretly to Plato, for thou recordist and remembrist me thise thinges yet the seconde tyme;

— *The Riverside Chaucer*, *Boece*, Book III, Prosa 12, ll. 48-50.

- b. thou remembrest and recordest me thise thinges.

— van der Gaaf (1904) p. 145.

<sup>10)</sup> *Self* is added to one of these occurrences.

He hath a litil foryeten hymselfe, but certes he schal lightly remembren hymself yif so be that he hath knowen me or now; — *Boece*, Book I, Prosa 2, ll. 21-24.

<sup>11)</sup> See *The Riverside Chaucer*, pp. xlv-xlvii for manuscripts or printed matter Benson compared in editing it.



- (13) a. “It remembreth me wel,” quod I, “that it hath ben schewed.”  
       — *The Riverside Chaucer*, Boece, Book IV, Prosa 2, ll. 52, 53.  
    b. ‘Remembreth thee’, quod shee, ‘that I have gadered and shewed.’  
       — van der Gaaf (1904) p. 145.

The difference in the first example does not point to the reason for the disparity between the frequency of personal *remembren* we count in *The Riverside Chaucer* and that in van der Gaaf, who treats this just as a personal use of *remembren*. The latter example poses a problem. We assign the *remembren* in *The Riverside Chaucer* to the impersonal category, while for van der Gaaf’s it represents a reflexive *remembren*.

### 3 The 14th Century: A Transition Period from Impersonal to Personal

Before considering the reason why Chaucer used impersonal *remembren* against the standard reflexive use of those days, we should look into the transition from impersonal to personal in the Middle English period. Though the expression *methinks* persists, we regard it as an archaic and formulaic verb; impersonal verbs, in our estimation, have almost gone out of use. As is generally known, English nouns in early days were highly inflected, but they gradually lost the inflectional endings and word order began to function as a substitute. Even after word order was almost fixed, the objective forms of personal pronoun, which are not informative, often preceded the verbs for quite a long time. This is the reason why such expressions as *methinks* can often be found even in Shakespeare’s day. The tendency of subjects first, however, is stronger than the tendency for objective forms of pronouns, which are not informative, to come first. Modern English subsequently lost the OV word order except for surviving examples such as *methinks*. Impersonal constructions with OV word order were against the tendency of subject first, and became archaic expressions.

Palander-Collin (1993) inquired into the transition from impersonal to

personal in the case of *think* and *like* using the *Helsinki Corpus*. According to her,<sup>12)</sup> Old English had two verbs for *think*, personal *think* 'þencan' and impersonal *think* 'þyncan', but they were mixed up in the 13th century or at the beginning of the 14th century, and then, after 1350, *seem*, a calque from Old North<sup>13)</sup>, supplanted the impersonal *remembren*<sup>14)</sup> because two constructions, personal and impersonal, are too heavy a loading for one verb.

OE		In the 13th c. or at the beginning of the 14th c. <sup>15)</sup>	After 1350
Personal þencan	/	Impersonal þyncan	— Personal/Impersonal think (thenken)
			↗ think (Personal) ↘ seem (Impersonal)

Figure 1 The Transition from Impersonal to Personal — Palander-Collin (1993) p. 218

Supplantations of this kind are sometimes observed in other languages. Givón (1988: 437) concluded at the end of his typological thesis on passive constructions in Ute as follows:

*Functional density along the two domains:* The 'receding' construction must be moving into an area of *low code density*, i.e. where few coding points cover a large functional domain. Such a condition may be likened to 'functional vacuum'. On the other hand, the 'invading' construction must be moving from an area of *high code density*, where several constructions code a relatively small — or over-coded — functional domain. Such a condition may be likened to 'functional pressure'.

<sup>12)</sup> See p. 218.

<sup>13)</sup> See also Ogura (1991: 76).

<sup>14)</sup> See Mustanoja (1960: 433-36); Kellner (1892: 208-10); *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1983: 917).

<sup>15)</sup> See Mustanoja (1960: 433-36); Kellner (1892: 208-10); *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1983: 917).

To borrow Givón's words, such verbs as *think* and *like*, which were loaded with both personal and impersonal constructions in the Middle English period<sup>16)</sup>, can be considered as being under a condition of 'functional vacuum'. Having observed the development of the tendency for the nominative element to come first and noticed the condition of 'functional vacuum', one can easily find the reason why Chaucer's impersonal *remembren* was not taken into later English grammar as a common usage.

We can find indications even in Chaucer's *remembren* that impersonal verbs were decaying. We should notice that the impersonal *remembren* is often used in colloquial answers, especially in *Boece*, and this is simply a sign of the decline of impersonal verbs, which Palander-Collin (1993: 219) pointed out with regard to impersonal *think*:

me thinketh/s shows signs of being an oral formula, as in the texts from the period 1500-1570. The expression occurs in the texts meant for oral presentation, such as sermons or plays, or in quotations of speech, for example, in trials.

Here are some examples:

- (14) but this is a thyng that greetly smerteth me whan it remembreth me. — *Boece*, Book II, Prosa 4, ll. 5-7.
- (15) "Certes," quod I, "it ne remembreth me nat that evere I was so fre of my thought that I ne was alwey in angwyse of somewhat." — *Boece*, Book III, Prosa 3, ll. 29-32.
- (16) "Me remembreth it wel," quod I; "and I confesse wel that I ne wyste it nat. — *Boece*, Book III, Prosa 12, ll. 17, 18.
- (17) "It remembreth me wel," quod I. — Book III, Prosa 12, l. 69.
- (18) 'but now it remembreth me wel, here was I born, her wol I fastne my degree, here wol I duelle.' — *Boece*, Book IV, Metrum 1, ll. 37-39.

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<sup>16)</sup> See Palander-Collin (1993: 218).

- (19) “It remembreth me wel,” quod I, “that it hath ben schewed.”  
 — *Boece*, Book IV, Prosa 2, ll. 52, 53.
- (20) Mars dwelleth forth in his aduersyte,  
 Compleynyng ever on her departynge,  
 And what his compleynt was, remembreth me;  
 — The Complaint of Mars, ll. 148-50.

These examples (14) - (20) are in keeping with the result obtained by Palander-Collin (1993: 219). She noted that impersonal constructions survived longer in colloquial English as formulaic verbs. Palander-Collin (1993: 219), furthermore, found that in the latest Middle English text files in the *Helsinki Corpus* (hcm4), the most common dative that precedes impersonal *think* is the first person singular. Palander-Collin's two results ((1) impersonal constructions survived longer in colloquial English as 'oral formulae'; (2) the most common preceding dative in the impersonal *think* constructions is the first person singular) are perfectly consistent with the fact that the only surviving example of an impersonal construction in Modern English is the 'oral formula' *methinks* (*methought*).

#### 4 Vague 'Distinguishability of the Participants'<sup>17)</sup> in *remembren* in the Middle English Period

This research on Chaucer's idiolectal use of impersonal *remembren* may contribute to cognitive research on the voice system because voice system is closely connected with the participants the verbs take as the subject or object. Kemmer (1994) treats middle constructions and reflexive constructions typologically and cognitively. She interpolates a middle situation and reflexive situation into the middle course between transitive (two-participant event) and intransitive (one-participant event)<sup>18)</sup> and calls the continuous line of transitivity 'relative elaboration of events'<sup>19)</sup>; she treats those constructions

<sup>17)</sup> This concept is from Kemmer (1994: 202-09, § 4.3).

<sup>18)</sup> See p. 208.

<sup>19)</sup> See p. 181.



we recognize the participants as the 'Initiator' and 'Endpoint' referring to the same entity, and in other events, we regard them as the 'Initiator' and the 'Endpoint' which are coreferential but mentally distinguished.

Kemmer (1994: 188-90) observes that some languages distinguish the two situations by two forms, one of which is for the reflexive situation and the other for the middle situation, and that others have only one form to signify these two situations. Modern English is close to the latter, or sometimes it signifies the middle situation simply by the intransitive construction. Middle English speakers' mental 'schema' for *remembren* would be close to Kemmer's

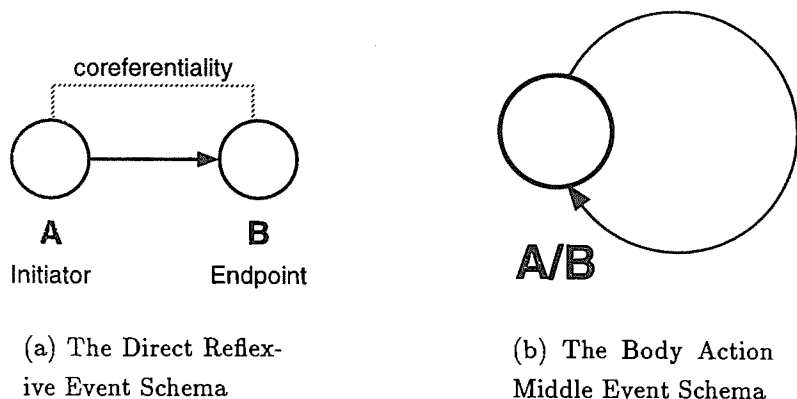


Figure 4 The Direct Reflexive Event Schema and the Middle Event Schema

—Kemmer (1994: 207)

'Middle Event Schema', where the 'Initiator' and the 'Endpoint' are indistinguishable. To borrow this concept, it is considered that the standard linguistic expression of a 'middle event' (*remembren* in Chaucer's days) was effected by the reflexive construction. Ogura (1991) shares her perceptions on reflexive verbs with Kemmer's classificatory criterion of 'middle situation'. Ogura (1991: 76) points out that the reflexive construction in Old English and Middle English is often used for verbs of 'motion' or 'emotion'<sup>21)</sup>. The former category, 'motion', accords with 'Translational/Nontranslational mo-

<sup>21)</sup> See also Ogura (1989: 66).

tion' which is distributed into the class of 'middle situation types' as defined by Kemmer (1994: 181-83). The latter, 'emotion', is in the same class as 'Emotion middle' and 'Cognitive middle'. Reflexive constructions are one of the means in the 14th century by which emotional situation is indicated.

English in the 14th century, on the other hand, still has the impersonal construction, as a means of conveying emotional events. With the impersonal construction, the 'Initiator' is out of the speaker's cognitive focus; the person who is signified by the dative of a personal pronoun is recognized as the 'Endpoint':

- (6) For as Seint Jerome seith, "At every tyme that me  
 remembreth of the day of doom I quake; Endpoint  
 — 'The Parson's Tale', l. 159.

With the personal construction, the same person signified by the nominative element is recognized as the 'Initiator' of the event:

- (3) And so bifel how that this goode man  
Initiator  
 Remembred hym upon this Damyant,  
Endpoint  
 — 'The Marchant's Tale', ll. 1897, 98.

In sum, the participants of *remembren* can be recognized as convenient for the speakers because of the vague 'distinguishability of the two participants'. That vague semantic content between one-participant and two will be common to many 'emotional' verbs. The list of verbs in which Ogura (1991: 76) discovered both impersonal use and reflexive use is made up mostly of emotional verbs<sup>22</sup>). Running through the list of native English verbs, we can find many evidently 'emotional' verbs such as *athinken*, *biloven*, *gamen*, *gladen*, *gremen*, *grisen*, *liken*, *lusten*, *menen*, *neden*, *ofdreden*, *quemen*, *recchen*, *reuen*, *shamen*, *shapen*, and *sheuen*. The impersonal examples of *lighten* may also be used in an emotional process. It is the same with verbs of OF, AF or Latin derivation:

*anoien*, *disdeinen*, *greven*, *joien*, *merveillen*, *noien*, *remembren*, *repenten*, and some motion verbs.

Chaucer, indeed, must have known Romance words synonymous with *remembren* which were used in impersonal constructions, but he seems to have borrowed the usage for a good reason. As mentioned in the previous section, the 14th century is a transitional period from impersonal to personal. Palander-Collin (1993: 208) also describes the transition in this way:

This transition from 'impersonal'-to-personal construction or the personalization of 'impersonal' verbs was not merely a syntactic change, but it involved a semantic shift from the causative meaning 'to give an impression to someone' to the receptive meaning 'to receive an impression'.

The intergradation, however, can be perceived only through later diachronic linguistic studies. Synchronically, the 14th century is, for the speakers, the period in which the impersonal construction and the personal construction coexisted. Though the canonical use of *remembren* might have been reflexive, the semantic content is noncommittal regarding the 'distinguishability of participants'. It is no wonder that Chaucer, or anyone, was able to use *remembren* in impersonal constructions instead of its prevailing usage.

<sup>22)</sup> The following table shows the list of verbs which have both impersonal use and reflexive use collected by Ogura (1991: 76).

Table 3 Middle English Verbs Which Have Both Reflexive Use and Impersonal Use  
Collected by Ogura (1991: 76)

native:	<i>athinken, biloven, dighen, draven, (comen), faren, gamen, gladen, gremen, grisen, iworthen, kithen, lighten, liken, loken, lusten, maken, menen</i> 'to remember', <i>menen</i> 'to grieve', <i>neden, neighen, ofdreden, quemen, recchen</i> 'to care', <i>reuen, shamen, shapen, sheuen</i> .
ON:	<i>semen</i> .
OF or OE:	<i>coveren</i> .
OF, AF or L:	<i>anoien, auntren, availen, declaren, deien, disdeinen, (displesen), greven, joien, merveillen, noien, paien, preuen, quiten, remembren, repenten</i> .



## 5 Conclusion

Following the work by van der Gaaf, this paper examined the frequency of Chaucer's reflexive and impersonal use of *remembren*, and argued that the two biggest factors which possibly led Chaucer to use *remembren* in impersonal constructions, as well as the standard reflexive construction, are the vague 'differentiality of the participants' and the transitional condition of his period from impersonal to personal.

There is room for further investigation into the relation between the distribution of these two uses and his meter, the field of study called 'metrical grammar'<sup>23)</sup>. Needless to say, further research on each 'emotional' verb, for which Ogura (1991) ascertained both impersonal use and reflexive use, will bring us useful results and help us to understand the Middle English voice system. What has to be noticed is, moreover, that the impersonal construction is not always accompanied by impersonal verbs. Nakamura (1991a, b) notices that Chaucer also permits both personal and impersonal constructions of an emotional adjective: the adjective 'lief'<sup>24)</sup>. She ascertains that Chaucer uses not only the standard forms of those days, 'oblique + *be* + *lief*' and 'nominative + *have* + *lief*', but also 'nominative + *be* + *lief*' and 'oblique + *have* + *lief*'.

Nakamura (1991b: 107) notes at the beginning of her thesis that grammar is always changing because someone's system of grammar is not entirely the same as another's in the next generation. This is the motivation for 'grammaticalization'<sup>25)</sup>, and in a diachronic stream toward one direction over a period of time, some cases of backflow might be seen. Chaucer's impersonal *remembren* might be one such example.

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<sup>23)</sup> See Terasawa (1994: 475) for the general outline of this field of study.

<sup>24)</sup> See Nakamura (1991b: 122).

<sup>25)</sup> See Hopper and Traugott (1993) Chapter 3.

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